* 539 /112 cont./
hats, straps, and belts of the whites. Then Yepá Huáke performed another miracle, and from this miracle came the arrows, bows, blowguns, guayucos /loincloths/, and all the clothes of the Tukano.

/113/ The Tukano had already arrived at Diaojpekodijtára. And afterwards the whites arrived at Diaojpekodijtára. And Yepá Huáke gave orders for all, whites and Tukano, to bathe in Diaojpekodijtára. And there in Diaojpekodijtára appeared a few gullos, all kinds of serpents, and all kinds of fierce animals. And this was because Yepá Huáke ordered it. From then on no one else could bathe in Diaojpekodijtára out of fear of these animals. And Yepá Huáke said that the group that was strongest should bathe in Diaojpekodijtára. And Yepá Huáke said that the Tukano should bathe first, and the Tukano did not want to bathe out of fear of the wild animals that were in Diaojpekodijtára. Then Yepá Huáke commanded the whites to bathe in Diaojpekodijtára, and all the whites bathed without fear. And from then on the Tukano remained under the orders of the whites, since, because of the accursed fear of the wild animals that were in Diaojpekodijtára, the Tukano did not bathe and the whites won (19).

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• [829]

19. Rationalization for the dominion that the police, the judge, the Comisario /commissary, commissioner/, the religious Missionary, and the rubber worker have over the Indian in the Vaupés region.

And before bathing themselves in Diaojpekodijtára, the whites were the color of the Tukano, but after bathing in Diaojpekodijtára they turned white. The Tukano saw that the whites were already bathing, and then the Tukano wet the palms of the hands, the face, and the soles of the feet, and that is why all these parts of the body of the Tukano are white (20).

[826]

20. Reference to the fact that in general the palms of the hands, the face, and the soles of

/66 cont./

000 wrapped in dark shadows (21).

21. A summary of what is reasonably thought in our days can be found in the work by Paul Rivet: Les origines de l'Homme Américain /The origins of American Man/, Montreal, 1943.

177 It is certain, however, that, starting from the eighteenth
648 century, the relations of the colonizers with these natives have become more and more frequent and long-lasting. From these relations, some probable, others proved, have resulted the modifications of the natives, and adoption, more or less altered, of the usages of the civilized. It is the other aspect of the phenomenon of acculturation, and well marked, which can be verified on the Uaupés in the half of this century.

• 829 3rd. Although biologically and culturally tending toward a leveling, they consider themselves socially unequal. The
[567] group of Tukano tribes is the most noble. The Makú are
[648] considered and called slaves (in Tukano poxsá, a term that, according to A. Giacone, means the one who works gratis), and they themselves considered themselves such, serving without remuneration the tribes of the Tukano and Taryana
[554] groups. Within the same group of tribes, such as in the subdivisions (cf. VIII-3, c) of each tribe, they are also graded according to a certain nobleness, which is recognized without any discussion. The Prehistory of these tribes might bring some light on this curious practice.

161 4th. Another palpitating question emerges among all: is this indigenous population perhaps on the road to disappearing? Or, who knows, is it maintaining itself numerically the same; or perhaps even tending to increase? We lack statistical data for comparison. We can, nevertheless, affirm:

/69 cont./

*101 On our anthropometric file cards representatives of fourteen tribes appear, to wit: 1. Arapásu, 2. Bará, 3. Desana, 4. Karapanã, 5. Kubêwana, 6. Pirá-tapuya, 7. Suryana, 8. Tukano, 9. Tuyuka, 10. Yurití, 11. Wanana, 12. Kumãdene (or Ipéka-tapuya, water-duck people), 13. Taryãna, 14. Makú.

We also had an opportunity for communication with the tribes: 1. Ba:remasã, 2. Edúrya, 3. Emõá-masã (guariba-tapuya), 4. Hanẽrã (panẽnõa), 5. Ĩde-masã (water people, or Aõnĩrã), 6. Oá-mahã (mikura-tapúya), 7. Páboa-masã (tatú-tapúya), 8. Roéra-masã (tarayra-tapuya), 9. Yebá-masã, 10. Mirití-tapúya, 11. Ihwãna, 12. Tsẽna, all of the Tukano /Tucano/ group, and with a dozen tribes of the Arwáke /Arawak/ group, of the rivers Içana and Aiarí.

We do not include in the present study the tribes of the Içana. Nowadays relations are free and easy and trade is frequent between these tribes and the ones who inhabit the upper Uaupés. Not infrequently individuals from that river are found settled in the basin of the Uaupés. Entire groups /70/ have abandoned the Içana and tributaries, judged as "blighted," that is, through the scarcity of fish, and many times attracted by the greater comfort that the Catholic Missions provide for the inhabitants of the rivers Uaupés and Negro.

• 829 171 An impressive fact in such a notable physiological and cultural melting-pot is that all the natives, even the children, proudly know how to distinguish and express precisely the group to which they belong. What would be the basis for this distinction? There being in effect the law that the children belong to the nation of their own father, it is easy for the 000 individual to indicate what his own tribe would be. What, however, would be the foundations for this distinction between tribes? The first foundation, in dealing with nationality, would evidently be of a bio-ethnological order.

/82 cont./

*101 The more noble subdivisions established themselves from Piracuara upwards (river Papurí), with a group of the Waú-ro coming down as far as Ananaz (Uaupés).

According to Frei Gregório's maps, in 1853 the Tukano on the river Uaupés lived in: Pacú-cachoeira, Iuquira-Rapecuma, S. Joaquim, Naná-Rapecuma, S. Jerônimo de Ipanoré, and Iauareté-cachoeira. The first "Relatórios" of the eighteenth century (cf. "Roteiro" /Logbook/ of Pe. Noronha, No. 174; "Diario" /Diary/ of Sampaio, No. 366) already report the presence of Índios Uaupés in S. Isabel, today Tapurucuá, in the middle Rio Negro. In fact, a Tukano group is still found in that vicinity.

161 According to Koch G. (Festschrift Eduard Seler, 206) the Tukano would come to 1,500 souls. They must, however, be rather more numerous. The statistics of Pelo Rio Mar report in Brazilian territory alone 1,622 individuals; and those of Colombian territory are equally numerous. It is possible that they exceed two thousand.

• 829 We have sketched the physical appearance of the Tukano (IV -- 1, a (1)). The physical and spiritual qualities do not reveal any superiority over the other tribes. On the contrary, some of these present more delicate features and perhaps even a better configuration and anatomical proportions. Nevertheless, the Tukano, as we have already noted, considers himself /83/ superior to the other tribes and this primacy is peacefully granted [197] to him. The Missionaries explain this superiority by the fact that the other tribes accepted his language as the official, or at least general, idiom on these rivers. Logically the generalization of the idiom would be explained by the superiority of [173] the tribe. This inconsistency is to be pointed out: according to the Tukano tradition, they were defeated by the "Blood children of the Thunder," the Taryana, who finally accepted the Tukano language.

/108 cont./

*101 as brothers or relatives of those of another tribe, with matrimonial interdication, although they are distinguished, not only by the language, but even somatically or bio-ethnologically. This is the case, for example, with regard to the Tukano and Barâ.

3) Divisions -- The informant above indicated to us only the Yebâ-Yetâna. Various tribes, such as the Hanêra, Yebâ, Emôâ, indicated as their subdivision the Roéra or Taraíra. Is it actually a matter of /109/ subdivisions of these tribes, or do the Roéra constitute a tribe per se? If the dialectic difference is small, as the Vocabularies compared reveal to us, the somatic one is greater, in spite of the matrimonial arrangement that binds these tribes. If we keep in mind the fact that among all these tribes exogamous marriage is in force as a strict law (cf. 1, a (1)), matrimonial non-interdiction could serve as a criterion for distinguishing the tribes, although the interdiction is not always useful as a classificatory criterion.

r) SURIRÁ OR SURYANA

1) People-Name-Language -- They call themselves Surirá, meaning unknown, and they are called Suryana by those of other tribes. Probably it is the same tribe as the one called Cirango by Curt Nimuendajú.

Their language belongs to the Tukano group, as is seen in the Vocabulary that we collected and recorded (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical" and "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia"). Possibly the one that comes in the 16th place in the linguistic classification of Chestmir (cf. "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia"), and he has located it erroneously on the river Caiari.

[144] [171] [829] They are lighter in complexion than the Tukano, small face, less Mongoloid features, and also shorter and less corpulent than they are. Morally more decayed, they are regarded by the Tukano as inferior, and they judge themselves as such. They are, in reality, slower in assimilating civilization, lazier, less

/109 cont./
*101 susceptible to stimulus (40).

> 40. The appearance of their homes in Acuaricuara confirms the impression that they are more decayed. It is true that in November of 1953 two Suryana families were building the two best houses of the missionary povoado. About the moral decadence, the fact that a father was living maritally with his daughter. It must be pointed out that the Tukano did not accept a Suryana as a labor overseer; nevertheless, in the Mission school the two most intelligent young men were Suryana.

[171] [835] [829] [797]

In Acuaricuara we found Suryana married to Tukano and to Desana; matrimonial interdiction is thus not in force between these tribes. Exogamy is also mandatory among the Suryana.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. We found some groups on the headwaters of the Papurí and on the river Paca (Acuaricuara and surroundings). They are not to be confused with the Širyaná of Arwake origin located on the Demêni, whom Curt K. identified with the Bahuna.

According to the information obtained in Acuaricuara, the Suryana tribe is greatly reduced in members. There would be about 250 individuals: 120 in S. Geraldo (river Paca), 80 in Vinha-igarapé, 30 in Uiva-igarapé, and 20 in Tapira-cachoeira (river Paca).

[115] /110/ 3) Divisions. -- Informant Manoel Rodriguez from Acuaricuara.

1. Tu-boá (?), in S. Geraldo
2. Behé burisêra (Suryana tapurú /caterpillar/), in Vinha-igarapé
3. Wiva (arrow), in Uíva-igarapé (river Paca, above Tapira-cachoeira)

/119 cont./

*101 Their Arwáke ancestry makes us think of a probable descent by way of the rivers Orinoco-Negro, some groups (Ipeka, Baniva, etc.) becoming localized through the valley of the Içana and Xié, and others (Baré and Taryãna) descended farther. The Baré went as far as the mouth of the Rio Negro, and the Taryãna as far as that of the Uáupés, whose stream they later went up. These migrations must have taken place several centuries ago. Actually, at the time of the discoveries, the Arwáke were already found on the rivers that they now occupy. Furthermore, the first explorers who reached the Orinoco River found among the local tribes the belief that the inhabitants of the Rio Negro were giants (cf. Sampaio, "Diário" of 1774-5, p. 302). We can then infer an interval of centuries for the appearance and generalization of legends of this sort.

[829] [171]

/120/ Habitat and inhabitants. -- The statistics of the Missions of the Capuchin Monks from 1880 to 1888 indicate 11 aldeias inhabited by the Taryana, with a total of 2,272 souls, whose principal centers were: Iauareté, S. Joaquim, Naná-Rapecũma, S. Jerônimo, Micura-Rapecũma, Carurú-cachoeira. We can affirm that, of these centers indicated, at present there are Taryãna only in Iauareté, S. Jerônimo de Ipanoré, and Micura-Rapecũma. The last data that we have show only 717 in Ipanoré, Pinú-pinú, Cigarro Buzina and from Iauareté up to Periquito, all the localities on the river Uaupés, and in Aracapá, Japurá and surroundings on the river Papurí, and on the river Javiarí. It is possible that other Arwáke groups closer in language and customs, residing in the basin of the Içana, were included in the reckoning of the Capuchins.

3) Divisions. -- In October of 1953 a group of Taryana from Iauareté, among them two old men more than 60 years of age, verified the list that we are giving below and obtained on previous trips. There was indecision among the informants regarding the order and meaning of the names, due, perhaps, to the decline of the group, which, besides its reduction in members, is losing its own idiom.

/139 cont./

153 As for the memory, he has one a little more awake for the subjects that interest him. Thus he has less difficulty in learning some words or sentences of the Portuguese language, or in reading (4)

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> 4. In 1948 I took to the Museu Salesiano do Índio de S. Paulo /Salesian Museum of the Indian in São Paulo/ the written tests of the children of Pari-cachoeira, after only eight months of school, consisting of a short dictation executed with good penmanship and few mistakes.

and in retaining the names of places, of persons, or in recalling the events. With more difficulty he will learn by heart the arithmetic tables or the prayers. And he also feels happy when the civilized man reminds him of some episode in which the Indian took part. Later, the desire to become "white," that is, to become civilized, moves him. For this reason he adjusts to the great sacrifice of entering a boarding school and attending classes, as well as of subjecting himself to the school discipline.

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[872]

2) Practical intelligence.

As for the practical intelligence, it is more highly developed. This is proved by the practical solution of the problems that life presents to him, and with the resources that nature makes available to him. The civilized in those regions, when they do not have other resources available, end up, in certain things, imitating the Indian, or entrusting him with the execution of what is needed. It is enough to point out, for example, the solid and large house /140/ or maloca that he builds, the stable and rapid canoe that he makes, and the numerous objects that he manufactures (vessels, grater, baskets).

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/footnote 6 cont./ other Missionary centers. Another young man wanted to have her as his wife and, in revenge, one time while walking through the forest with her husband (this around 1952), gave him a leaf of pirá-yawára-pũrĩ (plant of the dolphin, Patricia explained to us) to touch. One day "the husband became different," "he became like a dolphin" (that is, breathing like the dolphin does on top of the water), and he finally dove into the Rio Negro there in Tapurucuara (formerly S. Isabel). He stayed in the water a whole day. The dolphins pushed him toward the land, and he "became a person" again. Several times "he has turned into a dolphin." The wife of the unhappy young man herself is the one who told her these episodes, and she cries a great deal because of this misfortune.

• 829 On one side, the reserve of the native before the civilized, because he knows that the latter does not understand him or believe in such tales, and perhaps will even scold or ridicule him, and, on the other side, the desire to seem civilized will make him remain silent about all this to the "white" who travels among them, in order that he will not notice this trait of the psychology of the Indian.

154 Perhaps it will not be an exaggeration to present as a general trait of the native psychology this superexcitability of the fantasy. Maybe one should even qualify it as confused and establish it as a deviation from normality, if we make a comparison with that of the civilized.

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4) Spirit of imitation.

His inventive spirit seems entirely atrophied, in favor of the highly developed spirit of imitation. The Indian does not invent; he does as he has learned, without improvement. Just as he is also incapable of copying an original, without the help of someone who will teach him. They are accustomed at present to acquire straw hats made in Santarém (State of Pará). We summoned one Indian, a skilled maker of sieves, tipitís /manioc presses/, and other plaited work, in the act of buying one of these hats: "Don't you have straw in the forest?" -- "Yes, we do." -- "And so, instead of buying it, why don't you make your hat?" -- "Nobody has taught us," was the answer.

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His high conception of the "white" (it is thus that they denominate the civilized, whatever the color of his pigment might be) makes the man from the forest imitate him in everything. And he does it with encouraging results; for example, in the construction of the house with window and portico, and even in the cut of a woman's dress. Hence he easily and spontaneously abandons certain practices of his culture and his objects (hammocks, pots, stove, etc.) for the ones of our civilization, although they remain wedded to their beliefs and customs.

153

/144/ 5) Spirit of observation and criticism.

The Indian is an observer of logical and perspicacious spirit. He deduces his conclusions, draws inferences from what he has seen and heard, and soon he expresses them to his tribal brothers. The civilized man has innumerable proofs that he is being observed with a great deal of attention and judged with strictness, even when the forest dweller seems indifferent and does not look. Not infrequently the observations that he makes are humorous and even sarcastic.

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They greatly like to use ridiculous nicknames. For this a similarity or an episode is enough. And they do this not only to their own companions, but to everyone, without the person's age or desert meriting consideration. It is also a relief against

/144 cont./

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/footnote 9 cont./ traveling in his canoe and at six o'clock in the morning informed the Missionaries of the visit of the Bishop, who is festively received at the Mission two hours later. Humorously one says that in these latitudes there is not yet wireless telegraph, but the communication system of radio-cipó is well developed.

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If one opens a suitcase, a book, a notebook, the Indian's eye does not leave these objects. And many times he wants to have a more practical and complete knowledge, approaching them, touching them, and /145/ observing them in all their aspects. And not rarely subjecting them to observation by all the senses: he touches, smells, bites. The civilized man realizes that he is being furtively touched on his clothes, or even on the hand, by the children and even by the women. We were not able to verify whether in this gesture some magic concept might also enter.

When he hears Portuguese being spoken, if he does not understand it, he likes to repeat the sounds that he heard, pronouncing them several times, as if to engrave them in his memory.

7) Distrust.

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Conversely, he does not like to be observed. If he perceives that he is, he withdraws. He answers the civilized laconically, going away as soon as possible, in order to avoid a new question; or he will leave without answering. He spends entire hours of travel in silence in a canoe when he travels alone with some civilized man, or even when he travels with others from the tribe, but in the presence of a "white." It is the mistrust (10)

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10. We were lucky in getting Indians of both sexes, from diverse tribes and in different localities, to unbosom themselves confidentially

4: Silva--206 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/145 cont./

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/footnote 10 cont./ and reveal to us many more intimate and secret things. Besides the frequent presents, although small (many times only some candies and cigarettes, things greatly appreciated by all), and the patience and kindness of the treatment, it helped us to show that we already knew some of the more secret things, especially pertaining to the subject of our questions. Perhaps the vanity in showing that he knew more and better than the previous informers would open the Indian's mouth. One must insist many, many times that they speak frankly, without embarrassment, that not only would they not lose our esteem, but the civilized person likes frank people better. They could talk because we would not reveal their name to anyone.

Among the confidences that we obtained in this way (and in our notes we have recorded the person, place, and date), confirming their preconceived opinion against all the civilized, even though one may be the most abnegative Missionary, we remember here the following four: 1st. -- they do not like the civilized; 2nd. -- they believe themselves more ingenious than the civilized; they consider them just silly; 3rd. -- they like to see the civilized irritated, even pretending not to understand what he wants; 4th. -- it is a good thing to hurt the civilized.

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It would be easy to compile several episodes that confirm these statements. But these confidences, collected from the very lips of the natives, dispense with any more words and are more valuable than any episode. The idea of adding this Note to the chapter on the Psychology of the Indian came to us on August 27, 1957, in Carará-poco on the lower Içana, upon hearing that, for the second time, a young Siusí-tapuya woman (with three children, already

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/footnote 10 cont./ abandoned by two men with whom she had lived, having been charitably sheltered and benefited in so many ways by the Salesian Mission) said to the other women: "the Missionaries are thieves like all the whites."

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always observed and /146/ revealed by anyone who dealt with the Indians, perhaps in part because they have heard talk of the tricks engendered by the civilized (11).

11. Many travelers attest that, at the approach of the whites, the Indians used to send their daughters and wives to the forest. Alexandre R. Ferreira, in his "Diário da Viagem philosophica /Diary of the Philosophical Voyage/," p. 98, states: "On the other hand, the first ones who went down did not take much care to be amiable in the eyes of the Indians; I think that the memory of the treatment has lasted and will last among the people. Actually, they used to give their word, partake of the hospitality, then make the Indians drunk in order to take them captive." "In such a way the aversion and horror toward the whites took root in all, so that, at merely the memory, they hide in the forest. When they come down, it is because, in their dilemma: either they die in the hands of the Indians who are their enemies, or they come down to serve the whites." The well-deserving Salesian Missionary, Pe. João Marchesi, confirms this, recalling that about 20 years ago, during the balata season, as soon as they saw some boat of the whites, all fled. The Missionary then had to stand in the bow in order to be seen from far away by the natives and thus to find them in the maloca.

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/Footnote 11 cont./ Koch Grünberg tells (Zwei Iahre, 209) that, upon his arrival in the maloca of the Bará, on the Macucú-igarapé, three young women were put in a safe place in a second maloca. We have verified similar events in various circumstances, especially among the Karapaná of the headwaters of the river Aua.

In part also because he feels inferior to the white. A more accurate analysis reveals in him an inferiority complex before the civilized. Only after a long period of living together, especially when one speaks his language, does he sometimes become more open. It is a sign of some trust and friendliness then when he approaches the white and talks to him, resting his hand on one's shoulder. The woman, like the man, comes to wait on the visitor, offering him her hand, according to the present practice; but she soon withdraws. As signs of happiness because of the desired visit by a civilized person, the women -- accompanied by a longer and higher intonation of some syllables of the words of greeting, rub both hands from the shoulder to below the chest of the visitors while they are talking to them.

Due to a mixture of mistrust and shyness, they talk among themselves in a low voice in front of the white, in order that the latter not hear the conversation, if, by chance, he knows the native language. Perhaps for this same reason it is difficult for them to teach their own language (12).

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12. "How is such-and-such a word pronounced?" we would ask the Indian. He, however, does not answer. -- "Is it this way?" we venture. -- "Yes, it is like that," he will say immediately. -- "Or is it this other way?" -- "Yes, it is like that," he will repeat again. In other cases he answers -- "I don't know, I am Taryana, ask the

/149 cont./

152 The Indian is always shy before the civilized, especially if the latter raises his voice. Faced with dangerous jobs, such as cutting timber in the forest, crossing cachoeiras, he shows himself daringly brave. He remains undaunted during storms. His coolness in the face of certain dangers, for instance, that of a shipwreck, will cause envy in any Englishman. In other jobs, on the contrary, he appears extremely afraid. He is afraid not only of the onças /jaguars/, which have already taken many victims among them, but even of being hurt when he must /150/ deal with oxen or pigs. The burst of a bomb or a shot terrifies him. At the news of the approach of fierce Indians, he runs away immediately (15).

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15. The Indians of the Caburi region, to whom are attributed episodes of murder, never assault the seringueiros /rubber workers/ when there is a large clearing around the latters' hut or when they realize that there are many men inside. Among the Pirá-tapuia of Teresita (Colombia, river Papurí) there has been preserved a tradition about some Béxkhana (Baniva) Indians from Venezuela, who invaded as far as the Papurí and in the middle of the night killed many in the malocas. Sometimes alarming reports of new invasions comes through, and the Pirá-tapúia flee from their villages. About 12 or 15 years ago, in the povoado of Olinda (Colombian bank of the river Papurí), similar reports (which are called marandúa in the lingua geral; cf. Stradelli-Dictionary, note on "induiaméne") arose, and the Indians abandoned their houses for three months and devoted themselves to preparing trenches and traps. In order to stop these marandúas the Missionary Pe. Afonso Kuipers came to promise gifts for anyone who brought

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• 829 /footnote 15 cont./ him one of these Bẽxkana /sic/ dead or alive. Some came to affirm that they had indeed seen them, one would go so far as to say that he had killed several of them, but he could not have any corpse, because their companions took their dead...

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*[192] His fear of poisonings or spells (dohasé) and of the spirits (wãx'tỹã) is especially great. Out of fear of these, for any reason, he will go at night into the forest.

12) Carelessness.

157 Perhaps the relative ease with which they get or manufacture whatever they need makes them careless of things and tools, especially those of the civilized, letting them become damaged or lost, without paying any attention to their value or necessity. Many times the traveler must draw the attention of the Indian in order for him not to lose, break, or render useless an implement. There is, however, one thing which they are tenderly zealous about: the ornaments for the dances, kept in a case ad hoc, in a safe place. Since they consider clothing and other attire an ornament, they ordinarily take good care of them. And one notices some carelessness only in those who can easily get other clothes from the civilized.

13) Profit and gain.

Some of his faults attract the attention of the civilized. He is extraordinarily selfish (16).

16. Even in the service of God they want to know whether he will give them gifts, if he will give feasts, ribbons, and garments. A little girl once asked the Directress if there are fish in heaven. Taken by surprise, the Directress said no. The child added at once: "Then I don't want to go there."

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574 *[192] He is, however, hospitable. When some tribal irmão /brother/, or even an Indian from another tribe, arrives at the maloca, he at once presents to him beijú and quinhapira /a fish dish/, and, if there is any, also manicuera, bacaba, or some other drink. The "white" can likewise help himself liberally to everything.

156 14) Envy.

Envy is one of the vices that mar their character: they do not even take care to disguise it. Anyone who begins to distinguish himself because of his talents, becomes an object of the envy of the others, and he soon is afflicted by fear of some malefice from the others. A Tukano man, having acquired some planks with his work in the Mission of Pari-Cachoeira, started to make a hut with more luxury and comfort. The others at once threatened to poison him, and he found himself forced to abandon everything and run away. The same worm of envy is already great in the children. The ones who learn Portuguese more easily, win good marks, and are praised inexplicably become slack and decline. It was out of fear of the envy of the others. At the time of the /153/ school awards, it can not be specified that this is the first prize and is for So-and-So; or to reward only a few. It is imperative to give awards to all, being satisfied with calling first those with greater merit and letting them choose. The Directress gave a pair of shoes to one of the young women who worked in the Mission. She hardly used them once. "Why don't you wear the shoes any more?" -- "The others insult me" was the answer.

• 829 577 15) Theft:

Suffering so strongly the sting of envy, it is not surprising that he presents another weak point: the tendency to steal. Resistance perhaps against the "white," whom he always considers superior and rich, he readily seizes (even outside of the

4: Silva--219 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/153 cont./
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pathological cases of kleptomania) (20)

> 20. In some cases, because of the precociousness of the thief, the frequency and the circumstances of the theft, it is legitimate to think that it is a matter of kleptomania.

something of his, especially what might be useful to him in life, or, if he cannot do that, he damages something in order to cause him injury.

And perhaps there is yet another stimulus for the theft: the fact that he considers himself more ingenious and cunning than the white, the latter, in order to avoid friction with the Indians, having to close one eye, as though he had not preceived the cunning of the Indian. It is a vicious circle, inevitable in those places and circumstances. The traveler pretends he does not see, and this attitude plants even more deeply in the Indian the conviction that he is slier than the civilized, and he feels spurred on to make sport of him. The civilized person, for this reason, must always keep a close watch on his own luggage, which, even so, will not infrequently be stolen (21).

> 21. The tendency to steal and the skill with which they do it, never followed by repentance, are so great that we were assailed by the doubt that might they not by chance judge it to be lawful and good, at the least, to steal from the whites. We asked two natives who merited more of our confidence, and both affirmed that they consider stealing from anyone, whoever it might be, a bad thing. Nevertheless, another of our best helpers stated to us that to steal from their brothers is a bad thing, but to rob the civilized is a good thing!

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20) Pride.

Their pride is equivalent to their vanity. They never recognize their own mistake. At the least word that sounds to them like a scolding, they lock themselves up in muteness; and the child will act badly out of spite. There are cited cases in which, at a simple scolding by the civilized, they left and spent years without reappearing.

They are excessively pleased over praise; it is the means that the educators use in order to stimulate them to study and to work. If by chance the child is corrected at school because he made a mistake in reading, he lowers the book and will not read any more. He never asks questions in class, even when he does not understand and is invited to ask for an explanation. On the other hand, he laughs with delight when others, especially the white, makes a mistake (stumbles, falls down, does not know how to tie a hammock, etc.).

They are haughty about the[illegible]ualities and are pleased when they are praised. Even with their deep-rooted beliefs, they readily assimilate our civilization in its material elements, and even when they return to their maloca they imitate what they saw the civilized do. Deep within them they attribute the superiority of the latter to the resources that the Indian does not have at his disposal and "because they have learned from others." These are the two reasons (so they think) that they cannot accomplish everything that the civilized make, be it even an electric generator, a motor for boats, or an airplane.

Deep within them there seems to be rooted the conviction that the civilized is the one who requires them, since he came as far as their lands; and they do not require the /162/ civilized (35).

35. During the last war, the difficulties of supplying the missionary centers grew. One of the Superiors of the Mission thought it prudent to warn the natives that it was not the ill-will of the Missionaries, but the

/162 cont./

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/footnote 35 cont./ difficulties of the epoch (lack of resources, of transportation, etc.) that inflicted want of some things that they had been receiving, for instance, salt. And he heard this comment from a tuxaua: -- "You, the whites, are the ones who are going to suffer with this; we do not miss them."

And similar thoughts are difficult to correct, because they neither accept nor follow the reasoning of the civilized. And, in reality, the white who travels through these regions cannot dispense with the Indian's work (to guide him, to row, to transport cargo, etc.). And since the period of the discoveries, and in a special way in these last years, traders go up to fetch Indians for the work on the seringals and piassava grounds of the lower Rio Negro or seringals of Colombia. Before the majestic and savage nature of these regions, it is natural that the civilized person feels and manifests a feeling of timidity and inadaptation, which will confirm the Indian in his conviction of his own superiority.

When he is transported to one of our cities, quite far from his tribal brothers and from his native river, this same feeling of inadaptation and timidity will, with greater facility, cause the Indian to attach himself, with faithfulness and perhaps true affection, to the civilized man with whom he lives and for whom he works.

829 The native who is educated in the Mission schools considers himself "white" and tries to imitate the civilized. They do not like us to call them "índios" (36);

36. The more civilized among them say at times: -- "I am not from the Uaupes," as equivalent to "I am not an Indian." They commonly reserve the name of Indian for those of the Makú tribe.

one must say: "your tribe," "your nation." There is in all of

/162 cont./

• 829 them a point which in particular must not be hurt, to wit, the pride of one's own tribe.

21) Gluttony.

261 They are also excessively gluttonous. They are always willing to eat. They eat everything that the white eats and whatever is given to them, and almost always everything that they have at the moment (37).

37. They curiously watch the whites when they eat, and afterwards they devour everything that is left, always, however, sharing among themselves. Some from Iauaretê did not like chocolate and spit it out.

[164] Intestinal troubles are frequent. They will eat until they do not feel well and suffer indigestion and bowel pain. They eat immoderately when they have it and then spend the whole day with only chibé (water with /163/ starchy mandioca-flour) (38).

38. Otherwise they are used to fasting. Besides the forced fasts (because they do not have anything to eat or on trips), they observe numerous ritual fasts: in the puberty initiation, during the chôco (couvade), menstruation, etc.

* [172] [784]

The school children eat the foods that appeal to them until they 273 become sick. During the caxirís they do not eat, according to the customs, and thus they can consume a larger quantity of drink. They vomit on the one side, in the manner of the ancient Romans, and on the other they fill a new cup. The truth is that the caxirí [164] is nourishing, being in reality a well diluted pap. Since at times it is drunk still in the process of fermentation, this continues in the stomach, from which come many cases of stomach hernias, due to excessive drinking. They are very greedy for aguardiente; it is pay for which they will make any sacrifice. They perceive

/269/

753 The cause of a local pain, inflammation or fever can also
755 be one of those malefic objects which has been introduced into the organism. The cure, naturally, is only to be obtained with the elimination of the object located in the sick part or the elimination of the malefice. Since it reached the organism mysteriously, by a magic process, only another magic process will be able to bring about the cure. And here the "sorcerer" or "xamã" /shaman/, called in Tukano Yaí (pajé), comes into action (15).

[192]

15. Yaí also means onça /jaguar/. Might there perhaps be some connection between the two concepts? The Indians could not tell us. The Ethnologists grant it.

753 They also think that the civilized, in order to do them harm,
829 send them malefice (grippe, etc.) inside the boxes of merchandise, which, upon being opened, will infect many people or the whole povoado (16).

16. In the Tukano povoado of S. Luzia (river Papuri) the daughter of the tuxaua had died of whooping cough (1947). Envying the Makú, who were well paid for the curare acquired in order to be studied in the south of Brazil, there was immediately a rumor that the sicknesses were prepared by the civilized with the curare of the Makú and sent to S. Luzia with the merchandise.

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761 From this persuasion concerning the malevolent and magic origin of the sicknesses is born the conviction that every death has as its author an inimical person. It is, therefore, violent; man by nature is immortal. It is a vain effort to try to convince a feeble old man that he is going to die and it is advisable to prepare himself. Such a mental attitude, obviously, is not favorable to suicide, although one might perhaps find some old

/270 cont./

755 his medical kit, where there are small calabashes containing
*[192] powders, and also thorns, pieces of bone and of cylindrical sticks, small pebbles, polished stones of crystal for the vision, and, especially, the painted maracá (Yaxsã-ga), considered a magic instrument, and the cigar (Baxséke mõrõ-rõ, Uaupés mõ̃nõ-nõ).

He smokes it and disperses the smoke over the body, or the sore part of the body, with the force to drive away the
[787] dohasé and to effect the cure. By means of the smoke he is able to forecast the patient's death; and the direction /271/ that it takes or the figure that it describes in the air will indicate who caused that malefice.

756 When the pajé blows into the closed left hand and, opening it afterwards, releases the smoke in a given direction, or with a wide and slow gesture of the right hand drives the smoke from the left axilla toward a certain direction, he is sending toward there sicknesses and misfortunes. The simple blowing, slowly closing the left hand, will drive away the clouds, making the rain stop. If, instead, he opens the fingers, he will send winds, storms, lightning flashes. The lightning flashes always originate with some pajé. (Cf. Ermano Stradelli, o. c., entry Payé.)

*[192] There is a deeply rooted belief in the mysterious force of the "sõpro" /blowing/, "Baxsesé," of the pajé, because the blowing comes from deep inside the person, from his Hẽripõra /heart, liver/ (19).

• [829]

19. They also admit this mysterious force in the sõpro of the whites, especially if one is a doctor (whom they judge to be a pajé). We know that Koch Grünberg himself (Z. I. 101) practiced the blowings among the natives.

It clearly cannot be said that the Indians admit a natural magnetic force in the pajé. They regard him, then, as the possessor of an extraordinary spiritual virtue.

/332 cont./

776 He is, said Casimiro Sampaio, a mysterious being "who descends from above. He is yellow and appears decorated with arara *[192] feathers. He speaks, sings, and dances the mĩrĩ (32).

32. Our informant, Casimiro Sampaio, finished by saying that it is the dance of the Jurupari. Bisíu, then, is confused with the great Wãx-tĩ of the legends.

He makes a great deal of noise and eats people. The women cannot see him."

776 We learned from various other informants that Bisiu eats
881 women on the occasion of the first menses: "amõsé baásamĩ," that is, he eats the menstruum, as they express it. A Pirá-
756 tapúya widow, Maria José (in Parí-cachoeira, 1954) clarified
*[192] that "to eat" means that he fecundates the woman. It is for
[115] this reason that she must be shut up in the house, and she herself will call for the services of the pajé or Komĩ for the so-called "rite of initiation" (cf. VIII - 1, b (7)). These personages, with their rites, have the power to ward off the danger for the maiden.

776 A girl of the Tukano tribe from the Papurí said that the
• 829 Makú women, who almost always live in the interior of the forest, many times become pregnant from coitus with Bisiu.

/333/ d) Nãxkã Wãx-tĩ (Wãx-tĩ of the forest) (33).

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*[192]

33. Nãxkã means mato /forest, wood, thicket/ in Tukano.

He is also from the forest, stated Casimiro Sampaio, -- tall in stature and ugly. He wears long hair, and butterfly wings on his face. He does not speak and does not do harm to anyone.

/346 cont./

796 535 *[192] the men and with her own arms holding by the waist the two men whom she is between. The eyes are turned toward the center of the circle, and the points of the lances, yõxse-phĩrĩ, converge toward this point when they carry them.

At a certain point the local tuxáua gives an order indicating that it is the middle of the dance. Two men, among the leaders, go into the middle of the circle, make some turns, and finally come back to the line with the rest.

At a special order the women abandon their places, each one shouting her word. The dance ends with expressive whooping by the men; all those armed with a lance leave, bending as if they were looking for something, and, advancing toward a corner of the maloca, make a thrust with the lance toward an imaginary point about a meter above the ground. They call this "blow-to-the-white, pexká-sã paasé" (54).

*[192] [123] [124]

54. The Indians have always appeared very reserved in explaining to us the meaning and purpose of this "blow-to-the-white," although they had revealed its name to us without any embarrassment, perhaps thinking that we would not know how to translate it. On two occasions a native of the Tukano tribe of the lower Uaupés confirmed to us that "They do not like the whites and consider all of them enemies." Another native, also belonging to the Tukano tribe, although from the Papuri, in response to our question as to whether he liked the "white" or the "caboclo" better, asked us the meaning of the word /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ "caboclo." To our answer that caboclos were the children of a civilized man and Indian woman, such as are on the Rio Negro, he answered immediately: --"We

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/footnote 54 cont./ still like the caboclos, because they are our relatives." But the tone of voice did not show much consideration toward the caboclos themselves. Armando Sarmento, at a feast of the Kubewana in July of 1955, noted that the blow-to-the-white was performed four times, and that only one of the men thrust the lance in the ground, and always at the same spot.

/347/ These dances last about twenty minutes and end in shouts, whistles, acceleration of the steps, and they advance towards a certain spot (55).

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55. The Missionary Bishop Dom José Domitrovitsch explained to us that the turns are a provocation to the enemy, and the final yell is that of victory over same.

Intervals follow, during which they sit on their little seats, or around the floor, the men on one side, the women on the other, and they chat happily.

It is during these intervals that the women, generally a pair or two, with a cuia in each hand and singing songs, serve them the caxirí in abundance, first the men, then the women and children. They are convivial or, rather, bacchic songs, as we said (VII-3, c (2b)), melodies affected almost always by deep nostalgia. She will interpose, perhaps, songs of her husband's tribe between those of her own tribe, since, according to the law of exogamy, the wives are obligatorily from another tribe (cf. VIII - 1, a (1)).

[582]

Moreover, during the interval a long cigar circulates, from which they all smoke, from the tuxáua down to the last little boy, passing it afterwards to the women. The adolescents and the children take advantage of these interruptions for some of their fun.

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c) Conclusion: What to think of Wãx-tĩ and of Wã:kõ?

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In asking the Indians of the present young or adult generation who Wãx-tĩ is, they will answer at once: -- "He is the demon!" -- They will tell us about his appearances and tremendous feats, as we reported above. They will add ancestral traditions, and the laws given by him, which constitute the customs of the tribe and cannot be violated, in order not to irritate his spirit, which still survives, and incur his punishments.

On the other hand, these same Indians will say that Wã:kõ is "God." But the old ones (and some old men present whom we [178] were able to become acquainted with and listen to) know nothing about him, they neither think nor talk about Wã:kõ.

There is in these tribes a religion or cult of the spirits. They are, then, animists. There are many spirits, a true legion of them. "Wãx-tĩ maxsã" (Wãx-tĩ people) is an expression that we hear. There is Wãx-tĩ of this cachoeira, of that cave, of this igarapé. They admit wai maxsã, fish people (67),

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67. There are caves near Piracuara (river Papurí, Colombia), and the natives are afraid of going in there, because of the wai maxsã.

as if they were mermaids or spirits who live /357/ in the water.
775 There are some spirits who have been incarnated, and others, not.
776 They indeed assert that the dead person is transformed into Wãx-tĩ.
756 And they greatly fear the Wãx-tĩ of the pajés, of inimical persons,
• 829 and also of the civilized (because they regard them likewise as inimical, and, perhaps, the greatest enemy (see note 54, VII 4, e (2, a, 3)). For this reason they are afraid to sleep where some civilized was buried, out of fear of his spirit, or of his Wãx-tĩ.
[825] They say about a nocturnal bird, called uruká-tutú, due to the
*[192] similarity to its chirp, that one should not imitate its chirp,
because it will come, throw a stone, and do harm to the one who
*[192] imitated it. This bird, according to their beliefs, is the soul of a deceased civilized person, pexká-sã wẽ'ri Wã-tĩ. There are good and bad spirits.

T /368 cont./
755 They grant a particular strength to the "blowing," capable of effecting cures (81).

81. In September of 1947, during a fight among the Makú on the occasion of a feast in the vicinity of Iauareté, an Indian received five large and deep machete blows (on the two shoulders, forehead, hand, and right buttock). A month later they were almost healed, and they explained to us that the only curing procedure was the following: before taking his mingau, every man blew over the food which the patient would eat.

T
843 In order to have children of the male sex, the woman must not take a bath during the last pregnancy.

The pregnant woman, when she works, tries not to make much noise (for example, she avoids the noise of the cuia /shell of Crescentia cujete/ in the pot when she goes to fetch water).
T Otherwise, her child will be a whiner.
501 While the man is burning out his canoe, he must not eat,
784 drink, or go to the toilet, so that his craft will not crack.
T When the parí is being prepared, one must not eat meat.
262 The Makú must fast on the day on which they prepare the
M "curare"; otherwise, the poison will not have any strength.
278 The dead are transformed into wãx-tĩ (cf. below, Funeral
T Feast). These disembodied spirits, when they are that of a pajé,
756 of individuals of a hostile tribe, or of the civilized, are very
775 dangerous. For this reason they do not sleep near the place where
• 829 some civilized person was buried.

g) The cult of the dead.

T As a consequence of the two beliefs so firmly rooted, that of
621 the union of the individuals of each group, who consider and call one another "brother," and that of the existence and immortality

/375 cont./

266 in 1954 we heard mention of four Colombians murdered, "smoked,"
648 and eaten by the Pamõã-maxsã (Tatú-tapuya) Indians of this
726 region: and of how they particularly coveted the legs and feet of the victims. Accepting the accuracy of the news, however, it seems that it is a matter of special irritation and vengeance, and not of anthropophagy as a traditional habit, much less of bellicose attempts for the purpose of obtaining human flesh.

266 Koch Grünberg in various passages of his work Zwei Jahre speaks of the cannibalism of the Hyanakoto. He is, however, only reporting information by natives, and the Hyanakoto are Karaíba and reside outside the area that we are studying here. We have
266 also heard natives of various tribes speak of anthropophagous
829 Indians (94).

94. The Kumãdene tuxaua of Urubucuara, Mandú, knowing that we had made a long excursion by way of the headwaters of the river Tiquié, presented two very interesting questions: whether we had met the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ anthropophagous Indians and whether we had seen the tailed Indians. We answered both questions negatively, and we took the opportunity to ask him whether by chance he too had already seen them, who they were, and where they lived. He also answered us that he did not know, he had only heard such things mentioned.

An old Tukano /376/ from Pari-cachoeira, Gabriel Costa, informed us that there are three cannibal tribes, or Baári-maxsã-ré, that is: 1st -- the Yai-peri maxsã, 2nd -- the Píti-yároa, 3rd -- the Yõũrwá, and that they live "up there," that is, on the headwaters of the river Tiquié.

/376 cont./

• 829 266 Other natives designated for us the ferocious Indians of the river Cauaburi, tributary from the left of the middle Rio Negro, as being the famous Yai-peri maxsã or Onça /jaguar/ Tooth People. These, however, seem to be only legendary beings (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/").

Concerning the Pinao Indians of Colombia, we read that they sold the human flesh of their war slaves in their markets. This refers to the Panches, also from Colombian territory, who sold their own children to be eaten. It is said of these anthropophagous tribes that they fattened up the victims intended to serve as food. They ate them boiled with maize in large pots, or, more commonly, roasted them alive on a spit that pierced them through the anus.

2) Ritual cannibalism.

Among the tribes who practice anthropophagy, magic or participative cannibalism is more frequently found.

It is derived from the belief that through the eating of the flesh of an individual comes the most intimate union possible with him, and, therefore, participation in his good qualities: courage, vigor, dexterity, etc., and even in his psychic qualities or his magic power. Hence the sacred repasts, at which were eaten (not infrequently with preceding feasts, homages, and solemn immolation) the personages taken as superior: the chief, the paje, the brave warriors, the heroes. More commonly, they are personages of their own tribe; this is endoanthropophagy.

765 Among some primitives, the cult of the dead came to be impregnated with such a magic concept. In order to provide themselves with the desired qualities that their own ancestors possessed, there appeared the custom of ingesting their ashes with special drinks on the occasion of particular funeral commemorations.

Wallace affirms (o. c. 638) that "The Tarianos and Tucanos, as well as some other tribes, about a month after the funeral, disinter the corpse, which is already in a very advanced state of decomposition, and place it in a large pot or oven over the fire, until the soft parts are destroyed, which is done with the

/380 cont./

837 other tribes, with whom they live in the same maloca or povoado, promised us that the same happens among all the tribes of this region.

881 After the individuals of both sexes have gone through the pu-
836 berty initiation, -- be they married or single -- sexual relations with a large number of persons of the tribe and, under some conditions, also with those of other tribes, and with the civilized themselves, are permissible for them.

833 They conceive the sexual relations between the two sexes (99)

[838] [881]

> 99. Male or female homosexualism, it seems, has always been regarded as something reprovable and, for this reason, always practiced secretly. Officially, as far as is reported, it only exists in the puberty rite of the boys.

as a normal pleasure for the individuals who have reached legal majority by the puberty rite, and therefore such relations are practiced publicly, in front of their own parents or their own spouse (100),

> 100. It is understandable that the relations, although legally permissible, might not always be prudent and thus are not practiced publicly. Such is the case for the individual who, having fought with the husband, does not touch his wife in his presence. This comes from positive information obtained.

just as the various physiological acts of eating, drinking, or anything else are performed in front of any person (101).

[829]

> 101. Out of mixed feelings of distrust and hostility toward the civilized, or even because they know directly or indirectly that their morals condemn these liberties, they do not

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/footnote 101 cont./ practice licit or illicit sexual relations in front of them. Perhaps, yes, in front of some who are better acquainted with them, and with whom they might have had relations. Cf. what will be said about the female initiation.

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There is only one interdiction, but a strict one, against sexual relations (and the same for the different tribes that we mention in this study), those that take place between blood brothers and sisters, or brothers and sisters in the strict sense, that is, between children of the same parents. These, as well as relations between parents and children, take on a religious character, for this reason are licit, or even advisable and imposed in given circumstances (puberty rite, eclipse, new moon, caxiris, and in the clearing), and outside of that only secretly.

[833]

The woman, legally, can take the initiative in these relations, which happens frequently among single persons. In practice, especially between married persons, due to the feeling of inferiority which dominates her, the woman almost always waits for the invitation of the men. She can never, however, peremptorily refuse, even in the face of prostration of her physical state and the multiplicity of the suitors.

It must further be mentioned that the Australian Pirraúru is also in force among the Uaupesinos. That is, when the husband must /381/ go away, he invites one of his blood brothers (he is the first one designated, unless the husband has had a fight with him, as comes from the information) or a tribal brother to replace him in the habitual conjugal relations (102).

102. Two informants stated that it fell to the wife to invite this brother-in-law. It seems that this information may be based on events perhaps explained by the forgetfulness or sudden departure of the absent husband. The official notice to his substitute falls to him.

/381 cont./

581 Marriage, then, in the regime that is in force among these tribes, is a social institution intended to ensure the perpetuity of the tribe. Its aim is not to consider the particular interests of the individuals: tendencies to perpetuate themselves, affectionate inclinations, sedatio concupiscentiae, or others. For this reason, in the realization of the matrimonial act, it would be more accurate to say of the matrimonial contract, the will of the individuals, which in the rest of native life has such an ample field, is not consulted. /382/ On the subject of marriage, one again has a great deal of evidence of the "absorption of the individuals by the group," which characterizes the tribes of the Uaupés. Almost every act of native practice gives confirmation that among them there are no individuals, there are only members, there are no persons, there are only cells of the social body. The individual's own will does not seem to know how to want anything except what the group wants!

b) Concept of modesty.

291 834 • 829 562 It is difficult to answer these three questions: 1st -- whether the Indian really has an idea of modesty; 2nd -- how he shows it, whether through clothes or paintings; 3rd -- which might be the delicate part.

In front of the civilized, the attitude of respect and circumspection that they show, especially the women, is remarkable. An attitude all the more perfected the more frequent their contact with the civilized.

While the men appear, with the utmost ease and without any shame, with only their "Waxsó-ro" or sex-cover in front of the whites, be these men or women, the Indian women nowadays only appear clothed, or at least with a skirt, rarely a short petticoat /Port. saiote/ or tanga /covering hanging from the waist/. Among themselves, however, they do not observe such circumspection. The civilized has many proofs that the woman has dressed in order

4: Silva--580 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/382 cont./
291 to receive him (104);
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104. In Montfort, river Papurí, an old woman, upon returning from the clearing dressed in a skirt and loaded with her aturá /carrying basket/ full of mandiocas, thinking that she was not observed, took off the skirt, jumped out of the canoe, washed the roots on the beach, and later, with the skirt in her hand, she proceeded toward her house, bending under the weight of the aturá.

Wallace already pointed that out a century ago. Many times, upon approaching unexpectedly, the civilized perceives a scurrying of women toward some dark corner of the maloca or to the neighboring forest, in order to get dressed. During the work in the clearing the women are ordinarily naked. Frequently they leave their skirts in the canoe, at the landing place on some stream where they disembarked in going to the clearing.

291 Many tribes went around completely naked, testify the first
562 explorers, such as Padre Acuña (1637). The Vigário Geral /Vicar-general/ Pe. José M. de Noronha (1759), speaking about the Tecuna nation, writes: -- "Their women do not have any modesty. The males, however, cover the parts intended for generation, with wide fringes made out of thread twisted from certain white tow which they extract from the bark of wood" ("Roteiro /Logbook/," n. 139).
*[192] The Poet Gonçalves Dias, who was a School Inspector in Amazonas, writes: -- "The men, who among them seem to be the most modest, wear on the Uaupés something like suspensories, to which they give the name of cueios, similar to or an imitation of the tocambobas /383/ of the primitive Tupis. In imitation of them, the women also wear today some cueios of beads (puericueios)." (Manaus, October 23, 1861 -- Relatórios da Presidência da Província do Amazonas, Vol. II, p. 760.) /In the original source, the end of the last sentence of footnote 104 is repeated here as the last sentence of the paragraph. This sentence is omitted here in the translation./

/426 cont./

847 There are four regular cases of infanticide: 1st. -- That
848 of the illegitimate child. Such are all those who are born outside of the legitimate conjugal union. The reason is the shame which it gives rise to (38).

38. /This footnote is on p. 427 in the original source./ It does not constitute, however, a matrimonial obstacle for the unwed mother. It is a sign that she does not have "malefice of sterility."

The children can only come from a legitimate marriage. It is a grave insult to tell someone /427/ that he does not have a [829] father. There is one exception: the children of the civilized are in general spared (39).

39. Cases are known in which the child's grandparents were proud because their grandchildren were "children of white."

Objects of the greatest shame are the incestuous children. With the utmost secrecy abortion will be induced or infanticide performed.

562 2nd. -- That of the fourth or fifth consecutive child of the
847 same sex. Especially if they are females (40).

40. In March of 1957 a woman, still young, was taken to the hospital of Pari-cachoeira, river Tiquié, in serious condition as a consequence of an abortion. Further investigation showed that it was a matter of criminal abortion, with the expulsion of the fetus in two pieces, with an interval of two days. And the cause was the fear of having a child of female sex, like the two previous ones. We could not find

/436 cont./

868 It can be affirmed without fear that the parents are interested in the material education of the children. It is the father's ambition that his son will be a competent fisherman, boatman, or hunter (59).

[797] [829]

59. Today many parents are already interested in something more, and they bring their children to the Mission in order for them to be made "whites." A parent, bringing a girl of about eight years old to the school, recommended to the Directress that she "educate her, teach her Portuguese, in order that later she might be able to marry /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ a white." After he has spent some years in school, the child considers himself superior, and is regarded as such by the others. He has become "white."

For this reason he will not deny him his advice and his experience.

/437/ 7) Puberty initiation.

881 By puberty initiation or "rite of passage" is understood the official entrance of the individual, who has reached puberty, into the social life of the tribe, coming to take responsibility for his actions. For this he will also receive the necessary instruction on the "customary law" of the group to which he belongs, the obligations and rights of the individuals. And also, only for the boys, the explanation of certain customs and the legends which constitute the historical and cultural patrimony of the group.

[562] [869]

Both those of the male sex and those of the female sex must be subjected to the "puberty initiation rite" (60).

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60. The Missionaries, with patient and prudent action, have managed to alter the native customs, although slowly, with the adoption of Christian

/439 cont./

562 881 Naturally one can not mark the date for this beforehand. It is likewise understandable that it is practically impossible to perform this rite with an entire group, as in the male initiation, if we consider that they are small povoades or only a maloca.

*[192] /440/ The first menstruation is a dangerous event for the young woman; she may be a victim of Bisíu (VII -- 4, d (5 c)), Bisíu a'mõsé-re baásamĩ, they say, that is, Bisíu eats the menstruation. As they explain, to eat means that he will come to fecundate her (69).

[177] [797]

69. A singular phenomenon of acculturation or adaptation has been taking place. A girl, for example, is in school at the time of the first menstruation. She will perform the rite perhaps many months later, when she returns to her povoado. She does not wait, according to information from the young women themselves, until the next menstruation comes to perform the rite. As for the rest, she follows exactly what the customs dictate.

[756] (See Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/.) The maiden then will be the first to announce the fact and to request the intervention of the paje or Komũ (70).

70. One of the young informants asserted that the maiden will be happier if she does this rite with a stronger paje. Another added that she will be still more so if it has been with a white.

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Besides, the rite is desired by the girl, not only because it gives her freedom for the public sexual relations, but also because, according to her convictions, this rite is going to assure her happy deliveries, as various young women testified. For this reason no maiden would dare to marry without the puberty rite and the mõ-yoãsé (coitus of initiation). Some nubile maiden, especially

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/footnote 72 cont./ us. The services of the pajé or Komũ are always remunerated, as well as those of the mõ-paxkoá; not, however, those of the young man. He is not the future husband, who must belong to another tribe, and the young man of the a"mõsé regularly is of the same tribe as the maiden. A young Makú added that the young man was her obligatory partner at dances, as we were later able to verify.

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and, on the last day of the rite, with the Komũ or pajé (73).

73. It is to be noted that, according to the descriptions that we obtained, the first coitus is not with the pajé or Komũ, as one might expect, but with the young man.

The concept that the one chosen should be the hero of the group, recognized after a fight with others, as is done among some tribes, has declined. Among the Uaupesinos there is no test to determine the choice; there is only one quality in favor of the chosen one, his youth. Some maidens affirmed that he was a [829] "strong young man." On the rivers visited by the civilized, the latter may be chosen for such a function, and they have done it. For such a choice, we think that not only does the native's instinct of self-interest enter in, but also the white is supposed to have a special nature (74),

74. Many times and under different circumstances the native has manifested the opinion that the civilized person is endowed with a nature different from that of the Indian. This was the answer that the tuxaua from Paricachoeira, Julio, gave to Pe. João Marchesi, who assured him that he should not fear the

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/441 cont./

/footnote 74 cont./ Dohasé (malefice), just as the Missionary did not fear it. "The white is of a different nature," he answered, "for this reason he does not catch our dohasé."

a connection with which might bring benefits for the girl. This opinion was expressed by several young women.

/442/ The girl must then be separated from the inhabitants of the maloca. The maidens do not know (and this seems to us the most probable hypothesis) or did not want to give the reason for this segregation. It is that in these circumstances she is considered dangerous (75),

75. It is to be pointed out that she is dangerous not only during the days of the menstruation, but until the rite has been completed. As a matter of fact, the seclusion might take place outside the menstrual period and might last for an entire moon. It seems that only the first three monthly courses are considered dangerous and thus subject to a special rite. If one is to believe the information, during the subsequent menstruations the woman is not obliged to abstain from sexual relations, as the Jews observed.

for the others, once she has been sought by Bisíu.

*[192]

In the regime of the maloca, an enclosure for the young woman, called a'mõ tuxkũ, is made inside of it. In the regime of the povoado, she might perhaps be isolated inside a hut (76).

76. In October of 1947 a young Makú from Iauareté retreated to the hut of the paje himself for the initiation.

4: Silva--704 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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/Footnote 96 cont./

Principals of the river Içana:

9. The Indian Silverio Antonio of Tunuí.

1851 -- 10. The Indian Alexandre Correia of S. Bento.

They mention names of Tuxauas known, respected, and obeyed, not only in the /462/ respective malocas or povoados, but also in more distant malocas and povoados. For example, still at the beginning of this century, José of Pari-cachoeira (father of Julio and grandfather of Mandú, the present local chief, 1959) among the Tukano, respected and feared on the entire river Tiquié, and Leopoldino of Iauareté among the Taryana.

One understands the need of greater power, the malocas having a large population and being more isolated than they are today. The natural evolution that the tribe follows explains to us the weakening of the power of the Tuxaua. Natives who spend several years at the Mission, where they complete a primary course, learn Portuguese, to read, to write, to count, and a trade, and are guided toward civilization, and the civilized, who are advancing and who many times have direct relations with the Indians, are other such events that start undermining the authority of the native chief. The Chief of the SPI (Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Service of Protection for the Indians/) and the Missionary are hereditary tuxauas, by the very concept that the Indian has of the white.

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The wife of the tuxaua also enjoys a certain primacy and authority among the other women, and at times they call her Wyógo. She has precedence at the social receptions (97)

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97. Even when she receives some civilized visitor, she is the first and sometimes the only woman who comes to provide for his needs.

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/footnote 108 cont./ in his "Diario" /Diary/ of 1774 (n. 381) says: "The most famous one (of the nations of the Uaupés River) is the Uaupés because of the difference of various degrees of nobility that they admit among them; what serves as the distinction, like a military order, is a very smooth, white stone, cylindrical in shape and pierced in order to pass through it a cord, with which they wear it hanging at the neck. Those of the principals reach up to half a span in length. Those of the nobles are smaller, and those of the common people much smaller. The Uaupés also wear the ears and lower lips pierced."

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the principal consequence of which at present seems to be precedence, whether in the dances, whether in the preference for the tuxauaship, in the case of the coexistence of various subdivisions in the same maloca or povoado. On the basis of such a custom, one can arrange a classificatory chart, which, for the Tukano tribe, for example, would be made up as was seen in IV - 2-a(2), according to the enumeration given in December of 1953 by the octogenarian Tukano of Parí-cachoeira, Gabriel Costa (belonging to the eleventh division of the Ba'ti-tõrõ), an order which, besides, corresponds to information that we obtained from other sources and in different places (109).

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109. When one talks about the last subdivisions with individuals from the first ones, one frequently hears this expression: "They are our slaves." Would they perhaps be groups of different origin which were dominated and absorbed? In some cases this seems to us admissible. For example, the Juruá display quite noticeable somatic differences from the other Tukano. According to the legends they would not have come out of Tõmpa-duri, but

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/footnote 109 cont./ out of another hole at the mouth of a nearby igarapé. The rivers with dark waters, like the Uaupés, form characteristic and abundant foam when they beat against the stones of the cachoeiras. Upon asking a certain individual why there were these inferior divisions, he answered that it is because they did not come out of the water, but from the foam, as if it were from the dregs of depuration.

2nd. -- A second one is that they attribute to themselves a juridical superiority, deriving from the priority in time, something corresponding to the proverb: "qui prior est tempore potior est jure" /one who is first with regard to time is better with regard to rights/. Whoever has settled more recently in a povoado is in a [192] certain inferior position; he is a "transient, Sihyári-maxsã," as they say.

/473/ The two customs indicated harmonize perfectly; we might think that the second one is a derivation from the first. Upon asking a Tukano Indian from a povoado on the lower Tiquié as to the inhabitants of which povoado he considered Mamí, he answered those of S. José. Further inquiries made among other Indians came to clarify this answer. One of them said he had heard his own grandfather narrating that the Tukano formerly did not live there, but resided on the Papurí. They were expelled from this river by the Taryana, still being a child, therefore, about 100 or 120 years ago, and came to settle in S. José. This information makes S. José the first Tukano nucleus on the river Tiquié.

[103] One more argument in favor of the probability is given to us by the Tukano name of the locality, which is Maxkã, the town, as if it were the urbs par excellence of these Tukano. All the more probable, since such a designation, besides not being attributed to any other locality, escapes the custom of the names according to the geographical accidents (point, igarapé, stone, cachoeira, hole, etc.), or other circumstances. In the vicinity of S. José,

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173 554 614 there is a place that in Tukano is called Bũxkõrá bathá, literally "swimming of the elders," that is, where the elders crossed the river by swimming, fleeing from their enemies. In the vicinity of this spot, about 30 years ago, the elders showed Pe. João Marchesi a section of less dense forest as being the place through which passed the first Tukano coming from the Tiquié on their expeditions of war.

In conclusion, we give the opinion:

174 554 614 1st. -- The natural multiplication of the Indians imposed a division into groups which have established themselves in closer or more distant places, according to the circumstances; for this reason we today find groups of one and the same nation dispersed along the three rivers (Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papurí).

2nd. -- The denominations (110)

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> 110. The distance between these groups has more and more accentuated the separation. If it is true that each individual, even the children, knows the name of his own and of the neighboring subdivisions (and even of other tribes), few of them know how to make a more complete list of the Gentes that make up their tribe.

that characterize each group (Waú-ro, Oyê, etc., cf. IV-2-a (2)) are names or nicknames by which the respective stipites, or some late more famous descendant who provoked the separation or built the new maloca or performed any other deed, were known.

[628] 3rd. -- The relations between the malocas, and the social situation of those who /474/ inhabit them today, are the same as those that existed among the founders, hence the present hierarchy that is in force among the Indians.

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554 614 [601] 4th. -- The malocas do not date from the same time, some are earlier and others later, having originated perhaps from some schism. The groups that have been organized more recently always respect the primacy of the older ones, calling them Mamí.

554 614 829 5th. -- The large number of groups that began to appear, however, complicated this hierarchization, hence the practical doubt that assails the Indian in some cases, not being able to say who would have precedence.

797 177 614 2) With the advance of civilization toward those regions, the division is accentuated, and one can discover a double cause for such a fact. The first is the tightening of the family ties and its valorization becoming ever greater, thanks to the support of the religious and civil authorities, and for this reason the family group can already be strong enough by itself. The second is the povoados that appear, consisting of families of different subtribes or even of different tribes. One can foresee, if things go on as they are, that there will no longer be any fusion of tribes, but, instead, a leveling and amalgamation into Brazilian nationality.

This amalgamation is favored not so much by the marriages with the civilized, which up to the present are very rare events, but by the traditional exogamy and knowledge and love of the Brazilian homeland, which has gained ground among these children of the forest, thanks to the work of the Religious Missions and of their schools.

e) Phratrics (sibs) or totemic clans?

619 Just as the Tribe, better called Nation, does not have a chief, neither do its subdivisions, or Subtribes (111),

> 111. Obviously the term Subtribe is improper; just as that of Tribe does not strictly apply to the national assemblage of these natives.

such as we find today, have one. They are not political units, but only ethnic ones.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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places upon each sib the responsibility for describing its own history. To be sure, the custom of reciting a sib origin tradition at the regular drinking parties that bring the sibs of a phratry together has probably had the effect of eliminating major discrepancies. I suspect that there are two kinds of sib traditions, those that are recited publicly and so have official standing and those that are talked about and ruminated about within the privacy of the sib or at small multi-sib gatherings. I do not, however, have a collection of official origin traditions. Another reason for discrepancies is that the origin traditions are the most important sanctions for regulating current relationships among sibs. If sibs are close now it is, in Cubeo thought, because they were close in the past; if they are distant now it is surely because of some event in the past, at the time of emergence. The more friendly sibs feel toward one another the closer do they bring together their first origins. When they quarrel they call attention to the initial distance in their origins.

Nevertheless, there are orthodox versions of sib histories that do acknowledge differences in origin. The sibs of what I call Phratry I form two divisions, according to some traditions. One group of sibs is sometimes referred to as *Yavimanawa* (Children of the jaguar).[6] This group, consisting of *Órobawa*, *Aünbuawü*, *Hehénewa*, *W'atharíwa*, *Byá-W'atharíwa*, and *Byá-Hehénewa*, is supposed to have emerged together at *Yavibebo* (Place of the jaguars), a site at the Uaracapuri cataract. The remaining sibs of the phratry had different origins and are not, as far as I could learn, identified by a distinctive name. The *Yavimanawa*, according to this particular tradition, form the core of the phratry, while the others are secondary members. The distinction is not without significance. The rule of exogamy, of course, holds for all members of the phratry. All phratry mates will refer to one another as *pakomá* (kinsman), and will entertain one another and offer ready hospitality. Sibs that are close in origin entertain one another more frequently and can depend upon one another to honor drinking party invitations.

In short, the relationship among the sibs of a phratry is far from uniform, but ranges from a degree of closeness akin to that holding among common residents to such distance that the rule of exogamy can be called into question. The *Hehénewa*, for example, discounting *Bahúkiwa* assertions of closeness, claim that they are so distant from

[6] This reference to "Children of the jaguar" has, of course, an honorific reference. There is, however, another usage that is derogatory and that is when it is applied to the Macú. Giacone (1949, p. 88) reports that Tucanos, Tarianas, and Desanas say that the Macú are not people at all but are *filhos da onca*.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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genealogies is not strong, so that they have only a general, albeit a strong, feeling that the family lines presently in a sib are related. What keeps the sib from being a lineage is then the technical fact that the Cubeo cannot link up their present descent lines with their ancient descent lines.

One is tempted, therefore, to think of the Cubeo descent group as a transitional form, hovering between sib and lineage. At first glance the distinction between sib and lineage seems to hang by the technicality of how sophisticated a people are about genealogies. Yet this sophistication is a matter of major importance. Sib continuity and growth is a relatively simple matter of transmitting a sib name and a line of descent with an origin myth to give historical sanction. Lineage continuity and growth, on the other hand, demand motivation as well as the capability for maintaining accurate or presumably accurate genealogical records. Societies organized upon aristocratic lines can do this readily. Egalitarian societies, on the other hand, can have small lineages or large clans and kindreds but they cannot readily support large or historically deep lineages. The Cubeo have a shadow aristocracy only, not enough to sustain the necessary degree of genealogical sophistication. On the other hand, if the Cubeo could not sustain the growth of lineages neither could they sustain the growth of sibs. Two social conditions seemed to stand in the way of the enlargement of sibs. One was the inherent fissility of the sib, the other was the organization of the phratry. The phratry allowed the sibs to split without endangering their survival by virtue of being too small.

The basic social organization that provides for autonomous confederation of small units conforms readily to the requirements of easy absorption of new groups. The modes of group-binding, such as exogamy, the cycle of drinking parties, and the segmented forms of ceremonial participation that allow each sib to function as a ceremonial unit, are also admirably adapted to rapid assimilation of foreign tribes without benefit of a central administration. In cases of assimilation, all the necessary joint activities to which the sibs of a phratry are bound will inevitably encourage a common language. Just as the phratric organization allows for easy binding of autonomous sibs into a convenient fraternity that provides for peace, cooperation, and sociability, it allows as readily for fission without serious disruption. From these observations it may be inferred that the history of the Northwest Amazon region has been one of constant formation and disruption of sociopolitical entities. What a tribe is at any time is a core of sib segments that may have persevered through

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Indians, who are the patrón and his foremen, but they tend to keep themselves apart socially and linguistically from their Indian workers. The rubber-working group forms economically a patrón-peón system, or, more precisely for the Vaupés area, a patrón-padre-peón system. A benevolent role of missionaries in the Vaupés has been to minimize the depredations and excessive abuses of the rubber-working barons by requiring them to acquire their Indian workers through the missionaries as middle men.

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A clear distinction is made between tribal group and nationality; a word glossing as "landsmen" is the term used in Tukano for nationality group. There are two nationality groups among the multilingual Indians described in this paper—the Colombian Indians and the Brazilian Indians (the periphery of the multilingual area may include some Venezuelan Indians)—and even the members of the longhouses in the zone most unacculturated to "civilization" know whether they are Colombians or Brazilians. Also, Indians and non-Indians both agree that there are two clear-cut categories of people in the Vaupés: in Spanish these are called the *indígenas*, or Indians, and the *blancos*, or non-Indians (including Negros). However, the Indians feel uncertain and confused about ethnic and presumably "tribal" groups among the non-Indians. A favorite topic of conversation with me was inquiry about ethnic descent groups among such known nationality groups as Colombians, Brazilians, Venezuelans, and "Americans" (of the U.S.A.). Apparently the Indians are trying to set up a folk taxonomy for non-Indians within the Indian frame of reference. They have long been familiar with members of Dutch, German, English, Spanish, and Portuguese ethnic groups; they are confused about the nationality as against the ethnic status of some of these, especially of the latter two. Many Colombian and Brazilian nationals whom the Indians frankly regard as mestizos or creoles claim not only to be blancos but also "Spaniards" or "Portuguese"; yet they do not resemble the Dutch, German, or English blancos. (In Tukano the word for "blanco," best glossed from Spanish as "non-Indian," is derived from a form also used in the derivations of "fire, shotgun, fireplace"; the occasional blanco-sponsored request for a new form in Tukano that would gloss as "white" is consistently rejected.)

[P. 672 - B]

7: Sorensen E-5 (1959-1963) 1967
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

• 829 Although the Indians reckon, for reference, in terms of ethnic groups, their attitude toward non-Indians is roughly the same as that of Americans in the United States toward European immigrants, who are looked upon as potentially becoming more and more American. I observed that Indians behold the visitor as potentially becoming more and more Indian-like unless he actively rejects Indian food, customs, and so forth. Most non-Indians are unaware of this attitude, and many would be contemptuous of it if they did know of it.

With respect to the Dutch, Germans, etc., an identifying criterion important to the Indian is that each of these ethnic groups is a separate language-bearing group. I was surprised that Indians do not naïvely assume that the English-speaking "American" necessarily belongs to the English ethnic group; the occasional North American traveler who insists (in Spanish) that he is "American" by *tribe* as well as by nationality is simply not believed. The North American who can be more explicit about his ethnic background is appreciated, especially if the background includes languages other than English and more than one ethnic group (thus simulating in form the exogamic language-bearing groups among the Colombian or Brazilian Indians). The Indians have also noted the widespread and, to them, notorious endogamy of the non-Indians and figure that there must be some sort of sib exogamy. The [582] [797] Indians ask a great deal about non-Indian marriage customs--partly because missionaries at times have suggested that the Indians' exogamy system is cumbersome and uncivilized, and that it promotes close cousin marriage, whereas the Indians feel that it is the non-Indian, with his lack of a clearly definable exogamy system, who is indiscriminate.

As for nationality-and-language, the Indians know that Spanish is the language of non-Indians on the Colombian side of the border and that Portuguese is the corresponding language on the Brazilian side of the border. They also know that Spanish is the language of Venezuela and that English is the language of "America." Nationality has no bearing on exogamy.

The Tribal Unit

619 In the central Northwest Amazon the term "tribe" has been used both for individual language-bearing units and for composites of these units sharing the same culture. In general

[P. 673-A]